

the importance of the Slavery question, that he is not so sure in consequence of his heresy upon this subordinate question. In like manner, large numbers of the supporters of Colonel Fremont were strong protectionists, and devoted for him without knowing, perhaps, what were his views on that subject; and an equally large number friendly to free trade voted for him, without inquiring into the soundness of his views upon the secondary, and, indeed, a comparatively unimportant issue of Freedom and Slavery, insignificant of questions of revenue. And who believes that the Presidential election will turn less directly than the last, upon the Slavery question?

Slavery or no Slavery, is the issue on which the parties must go to the country in 1860. The Pro-Slavery "Democracy" of the South presents it, and the North accepts it. The controlling majority of the South have for years permitted any other question relevant to interfere with the main issue; and the same party, whatever other parties may do, will not neglect every other issue to this. In vain will the friends of the slave who stand divided, attempt to evade it; the anti-Slavery will in any event fight with all its force for the extension of Slavery over Cuba and Central America; for the Dred Scott case, which legalizes it in all our Territories; for the borders of Mexico to those of British America; and should they succeed against the stupid mismanagement of the Opposition, he will immediately proceed to the repeal of laws which prohibit the African slave trade.

The idea of abandoning the Republican maxims and principles, for a mongrel coalition against the Sham Democracy, with no common end in view, except the attainment of power and the gratification of the passions, as above stated, is not principled. And the kindred plan of abandoning the policy of protection to domestic industry, the great issue, is equally impracticable. It is impracticable for the simple reason that the Opposition are divided among themselves upon the policy of protection; and so far as the Republicans are concerned, it would be difficult to say whether the friends of free trade or protection predominate. What folly, then, to talk of making the tariff the issue! The effect of such a course would be to drive into the ranks of the Sham Democracy, or into a new organization, one half of the right wing of the Opposition, and to leave the other half an exposed flank to the enemy.

The tariff question is one upon which the parties are divided. The President himself has his Pennsylvania friends are scarcely less zealous for protection than the Opposition of the same State. Yet the Republicans in the Presidential contest will possess the advantage of Pennsylvania over their opponents, by occupying a position of neutrality, while the great heart and centre of the Sham Democracy, the State will force that party into the positive advocacy of free trade. The iron interests, and other occupations which ask for protection against foreign competition, might hope for more success in the ranks of the party which maintains within its ranks nine-tenths of the true protectionists of the free States, and which maintains a neutral position upon the subject, than in the "Democracy," in which the Southern ultra-free-trade theories are in the ascendant.

Admitting, therefore, that it is altogether unwise to secure the support of Pennsylvania to the Republican candidate for the Presidency, it is clear that we are not called upon to take up a position which would be a gross abandonment of principle on the part of a majority of the party supposing it willing to make the sacrifice. We are in effect only to transmute to the opposition from the ranks.

The manufacturing and other interests, who insist upon the right of being protected against foreign competition, can hope for no more from the ultra-free-trade theorists who exist in the Sham Democracy. That much is certain. They may secure more or less of what they desire from the ascendancy of a party, bound together by an overmastering attachment for Freedom and free labor, and differing within itself only as to the best measures for the promotion of these great aims.

The very existence of a great party implies the subordination of all minor measures to the concentration of the advance power of the organization in the achievement of the central principle which they stand for. No sacrifice of principle is required in such an organization, but merely a mutual spirit of forbearance and forbearance, as it regards questions unessential. We utterly repudiate the idea and demoralizing maxim, that the party is bound to suppress his honest convictions, to act blindly with the party. Every individual member, in every case, should act upon his own clear convictions of duty, even if he should throw him into antagonism to those with whom he habitually co-operates. Parties should be composed of men honestly desiring to do no wrong; and who, if they differ as to the object to be accomplished, they should separate, so far as that object is concerned. It is not the dictate of common honesty, but it is at the same time policy; for honesty is always the best policy. The low and base maxims of the mere camp followers, who are always an eye single to the spoil, are as stupid as they are unprincipled; and while they naturally belong to parties whose mission it is to uphold Slavery and despotism, they have no place in, or consistency with, a party organized for the vindication of Freedom. The discipline of a caucus or party majority is not a maxim as a priestly or oligarchical domination; and true Freedom men must discard the one as much as the other.

The maxims which incite obedienceto the party bosses, as the highest duty, only tend to disgust and drive out the honest members, and leave it corrupt, unprincipled, and without no higher aim than the spoils. The maxim now become the condition of what is called "National Democracy." The members of the party in the various sections have no longer a common object in view, and that once formidable organization is now tottering to its fall. It is true that the slave interest, the dominant element, is a potent unit, but it is not an aim, but it is a selfish, unprincipled, and the pretended "nationality" of the party with the general welfare, and renders it impossible for the party to maintain the necessary discipline in the free States. The severe discipline which has enforced obedience to the party maxims has at length completely disorganized the party in the free States, by alienating all who are not willing to obey the dictates of a President chosen with reference to his devotion to slavery.

The Republican party should profit by the lessons of folly and wickedness which the party of debauched, slave-ridden Democracy has learned. Drawn together by common selfishness, the love of Freedom, the noble desire to resist the extension of Slavery in the Territories,